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LETTER DATED 25 SEPTEMBER 1992 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

I have the honour to present to you the attached letter, dated 25 September 1992, from my Acting President, H.E. Dr. Ejup Ganic.

May I ask for your kind assistance in circulating the letter as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Muhamed Sacirbey
Ambassador
Permanent Representative

Annex

Letter dated 25 September 1992 from the Acting President of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina addressed to the President of the Security Council

We have all heard the story about a boy "crying wolf" and the paradox associated with it: the more often you call for help, the less often you are heard.

However, Bosnia and Herzegovina must call once again, because we are anguished by another, even more terrible, paradox. We remain astonished at the lack of response by the international community in the face of newly expanding violent aggression against our country.

Today, we are facing what is likely to be the final assault on the city of Sarajevo.

Tank movements around the strategic point of Grbavica are usually a good indicator of a major offensive. The fact that the tank count there has increased sixfold confirms suspicions. Reports of troop movements in the surrounding mountains add to our fears. It appears that Sarajevo is about to face the worst attack ever, if that is possible.

All week we have received reports about a massive troop and arms influx from Serbia and Montenegro along the eastern border of the country. These reinforcement troops are approaching the town of Visegrad, burning and destroying everything in their way, and displacing the local non-Serb population. The aggressor is transferring all of its available manpower and weaponry across the border before the international observers are deployed along this border.

Last week we reported that the aggressor was bringing approximately one hundred tanks into northern Bosnia and Herzegovina to secure its corridor connecting Serbia to the Serbian-held Krajina regions in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia.

We are writing to inform you that there is an imminent danger that Sarajevo will be unable to stand under the force of aggression now being amassed by Serbia and Montenegro despite their claims of compliance to the London Conference accords.

Because of the arms embargo, we cannot defend ourselves, and yet no one is coming to our aid even though we have been assured aid was coming from the Security Council resolutions and the London Conference accords.

Our hands have been tied by the international community, but the international community is not willing to carry-out its commitments.

If our fears are realized, we are unlikely to survive this latest onslaught against Sarajevo. The terrible paradox, created intentionally or unintentionally by world leaders and international institutions, could result in Sarajevo's fall.

Your Excellency, if the international community is unwilling or unable to fulfill its pledges and promises to come to our defense before Sarajevo falls, then the only alternative for us is to exercise our right of self-defence and collective defence.

Article 51 of the United Nations Charter grants us the absolute right to defend ourselves. In order to exercise those rights, the arms embargo against Bosnia and Herzegovina must be lifted.

We say to the international community, you do not have to defend us, but you cannot prevent us from defending ourselves. You have no obligation to send us food and medicine or to establish a no-fly zone, though both are desperately needed. But you do have an obligation to allow us to defend ourselves by lifting the arms embargo.

If you refuse to stop this latest onslaught from Serbia and Montenegro you must give us the tools to do the job. The United Nations cannot have it both ways. Enforcing the arms embargo means you must defend us. Failing to defend us means that you must lift the arms embargo.

Please, choose one of the two solutions before Sarajevo falls.

(Signed) Ejup Ganic
Acting President of the Presidency